such methods the conviction is instilled among the humble and meek that sanctions, and punishments as provided by the law are only destined for them, while the higher classes are exempt from penalties. . . ."

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION FOLLOWING THE WAR

At the end of the War Rumania was confronted with a series of problems, the magnitude and difficulty of which might well have strained an economic organization far more powerful than her own. The assimilation of the various segments that had belonged to the neighbouring States, of a total area and population about as large as that of the pre-war kingdom, was a formidable task that necessarily demanded the utmost exertions and self-sacrifice on the part of the Central Government. The impossibility of recruiting an adequate administrative staff for the newly-annexed territories, forced the central authorities to draw on their own of the old kingdom, with the result that the vacancies created were filled with inexperienced persons whose appointment was, according to the prevailing fashion, mainly due to favouritism. This resulted in a serious lowering of the standard of the Civil Service, which even during pre-war times had never been distinguished for its efficiency. There were plausible arguments for avoiding the enlistment of men of ex-enemy nationality at times when it was necessary to guard above all against every subversive movement against the integrity of the State; but at the same time the pressing of men into the service of the State who were in no way proof against the seductions of easily-acquired wealth involved risks that were equally detrimental to the State. On the one hand it undermined the financial stability of the State by deflecting from the national exchequer to the pockets of its servants resources destined for the former; and on the other hand, these shortcomings of its agents gravely compromised the prestige of the State in the newly-annexed regions, where such a system of subornation and corruption was something of a novelty.

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CHAPTER V

POLITICAL HISTORY, 1919–39

The crushing defeats which the Rumanians suffered at the hands of the German and Bulgarian armies in 1917, and the provisions of the Treaty of Bucarest, had left the country in a state of utter helplessness and confusion. The only 'compensation' was the annexation of Bessarabia. But in the autumn of 1918, after the collapse of the German, Bulgarian and Austrian fronts in the Balkans and the advance of Allied troops, Rumania re-entered the war. The pro-German government was dismissed and the Francophile leader of the Liberal Party, I. Bratianu, became Prime Minister.

At about the same time the Austro-Hungarian Empire began to disintegrate. Following the example of other minorities, the Rumanians of Transylvania and Hungary formed a National Assembly which, at its session on 1 December 1918 at Alba Julia, voted for the union of Transylvania and the Banat with the Old Kingdom. Among the members of the Directive Council of Transylvania, under the presidency of the peasant leader Maniu, were many politicians who afterwards played a prominent part in Rumanian public life.

The retreat of the German army of occupation from Rumania, which took with it everything it could lay hands on, and the collapse of Austria-Hungary opened a period of great confusion. The former subject-peoples of the Dual Monarchy asserted their national independence while the

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727 socially oppressed sections of the population, stimulated by the Russian Revolution, rose in many regions. The reconstituted Rumanian Army embarked upon a campaign against the Communist government of Hungary and was supported by Allied commanders. An offensive launched in April 1919 led to the capture of Budapest by 4 August. The Hungarian capital was occupied by about 170,000 Rumanian troops. By helping to defeat the Hungarian Revolution they prepared the way for Admiral Horthy's counter-revolutionary régime which has survived to the present day. The Rumanian campaign against Hungary coincided with fierce repressive measures against revolutionary groups in Bessarabia, Moldavia, in the Bukovina, in Eastern Muntenia and in the Banat. Under the pretext of re-establishing peace and order the Rumanian government crushed all the revolutionary forces whose existence might have endangered it.

728 THE NEW STATE. The long drawn-out negotiations in Paris which were to shape the final form of the Peace Treaties found Rumania in a very unfavourable position. The forceful personality of I. Bratianu, who put forward excessive and unreasonable demands for the expansion of Rumania, and the excesses of the Rumanian troops in Hungary, who requisitioned and transferred great quantities of railway and other materials to the Old Kingdom, estranged many of Rumania's friends. In spite of that, and thanks to the intervention of Queen Marie, Rumania emerged as the greatest and most populous of all Balkan States.

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up of Jews became the favourite occupation of the legionaries. The resulting confusion helped many minor officials as well as influential business men in acquiring valuable property.

But it soon became obvious that the real masters of Rumania were the Germans. In October 1940 Antonescu invited German troops into the country as instructors for the Rumanian Army. German trade delegations began organizing Rumania's economy and German specialists were appointed to important positions in various ministries. Although Antonescu had included the Iron Guard in his government, the struggle for power between him and Horia Sima continued. In January 1941 the Iron Guard, supporting the latter, made a last bid. The legionaries rose in revolt and succeeded in gaining several strong positions in Bucarest and in some provincial towns. The army, however, sided with Antonescu, who was also aided by the Germans, and within a short time the 'Conducator' emerged as victor. He at once proceeded to the establishment of a completely military administration and based his whole regime on the army.

His success in the fight against the Iron Guard was influenced decisively by the German desire to create a stable Rumanian government which would join in the attack on the Soviet Union. Antonescu did not fail his German masters. On 22 June 1941 Rumanian troops, together with German divisions, crossed the Soviet frontier. Thanks to German support, Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina were re-occupied within a short time. Both provinces were put under a military administration and ruled quite separately from the rest of Rumania.

[i.e. Antonescu -- Analyst]

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Those sections of the population which had supported the Soviet regime were ruthlessly persecuted and the punitive measures are almost identical with those carried out in 1919.[1]

Politically the advance of Rumanian troops into the Ukraine and as far afield as the Caucasus put Antonescu and his propagandists in an awkward position. In order to justify the entry of Rumania into the war[2] he pointed to the necessity of recovering Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina. The Rumanian advance farther east was defended alternatively by the assertion that the land beyond the Dniester was really Rumanian, and by the argument that Rumania could never be safe whilst the Soviet Union existed. The former line of argument carried no conviction: the latter had at first some popularity in view of the wound which the loss of Bessarabia and Bukovina had inflicted on the national pride.

While the German and Rumanian armies continued their advance into Soviet territory these excuses and justifications were accepted without public criticism, although, apart from the few out-and-out Fascists, there is no Rumanian who would really believe that he has any claim to land east of the Dniester. But the ever mounting losses of the Rumanians began to disturb the people. Losses had already been heavy in the capture of Odessa, the

[1] According to Soviet reports over 50,000 Jews and 30,000 Bessarabians have been killed since the re-occupation by Rumanian troops.

[2] Great Britain declared war on Rumania on 7 December 1941, and the United States of America followed suit on 5 June 1942.

728 of requirements for sulphuric-acid production. [135] Of lesser importance were the salt and coal deposits.

[313] The forest resources of Northern Transylvania are estimated to have accounted for as much as 25 per cent. of pre-war timber production. Apart from timber the food and leather industries [311] appear to have been the most developed. This area was principally made up of forests and [433] pastures; the arable land provided no surplus after local needs had been covered. Of livestock losses the most outstanding feature was nearly 2 million sheep.

[496] The railway system, and particularly the railway administration, was severely handicapped by the change of frontiers, which in places cut one part of Rumania off from the other.

Caliacra and Durostor, the two ceded Dobrujan provinces, are mainly agricultural, and though producing a small surplus, contributed little to Rumania's total agricultural output. Of more significance is the cotton-growing area. There are no known mineral deposits, and industry in this area is on a very small scale, relying mainly on handicrafts.

TRANSNISTRIA

●727 Transnistria is the name which has been given to the territory lying between the Dniester and the Bug, which was given to Rumania to administer in 1941 subsequent to its capture from the U.S.S.R. by Rumanian and German troops. Transnistria is part of the Southern Ukraine and is mainly agricultural, while such industry as existed has been of no use to the Rumanians on account of the heavy destruction carried out by the Russians. It is probably true to say that this territory has been more of a financial liability than an asset to Rumania on account of the heavy expenditure entailed in repairs, particularly of railways and bridges. Some little advantage has, however, been gained from the harvest of 1942–3.

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without much success, and has therefore reverted to her former practice of importing them.

In February 1942 it was reported that with imports from Italy, Turkey and Croatia Rumania had an eight months' supply in hand.

Under the 1942/43 Italo-Rumanian agreement Italy is providing her with 1,750 tons of chestnut extract, 1,000 tons of sumach and 735 tons of other materials. Turkey also agreed to supply for in 1942 with 1,000 tons of valex and 2,500 tons of valonea.

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D. BUILDING MATERIALS AND CEMENT

The building materials industry in Rumania on a small scale and not highly mechanised employing a total of 16,000 workers in 1937, while the value of production in that year amounted to 1·6 milliard lei, about 2½ per cent. of total industrial production. In the decade before the war cement, which is the most important branch of this industry, had a steadily increased output reaching in 1939 a total of 531,000 tons, with a 800,000 ton capacity. Small quantities had to be imported.

The most important cement firms are at Cetate Vodă, Turda, Dudeşti, and Fieni. Since the war due to limited building activity, consumption of cement has decreased, and was reported to have been 314,000 tons for the first ten months of 1942 the bulk of which was used for military requirements.

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After the recapture of Northern Bucovina and Bessarabia in mid-1941, a considerable amount of repair work had to be undertaken as a result of war destruction; but at the beginning of 1942 due to raw material and labour shortage all further reconstruction in these two provinces was forbidden. Later, in February 1943, a decree

B. LABOUR POSITION DURING THE WAR

1. Military Conscription

701 The age limits for mobilisation are 19–50, while youths from 17–18 are liable for pre-military training.

During 1942 there have been several indications of the strain which further mobilisation was putting on Rumania's manpower; for example, in April 1942 the sentences on political prisoners were suspended and they were called into the army, while from July of that year onwards there has been a constant revision of previous exemptions and a tightening of control over the granting of leave and call-up. Military service, which previously had been obligatory for Rumanian citizens only, was made compulsory for all non-nationals* resident in the country, and further a decree was passed mobilising all Rumanians of military age resident abroad. [563]

It is calculated that it has never been possible for Rumania to have more than 800,000 men properly equipped under arms at one period. The actual strength of the army has fluctuated considerably during the last two years, as has the number on the eastern front, but a reasonable average figure would be 500,000, of which 200,000 on the eastern front.

727 Rumanian casualties are difficult to assess. 464 One estimate at the end of 1941 put casualties at 150,000, while total casualties up to May 1943 have been estimated at 350,000. Military mobilisation will probably have meant a loss of some 800,000 men to the general labour supply.

2. Recruitment for Germany

464 The recruitment of workers for Germany has 167 been on a small scale, which is not surprising, as Rumania's military contribution has been considerable, and the military mobilisation has already reduced the supply of labour needed for the Rumanian armament industry to a minimum. Such labour as might be available for export is unskilled and therefore of less value to Germany. The total number of Rumanian workers in Germany in December, 1942, was estimated at 14,000. Of these 10,000 were young Rumanians 18–19, who were recruited at the end of 1941 to be "trained" in German metallurgical factories. 1,000 are women employed as domestic servants, and the rest are mainly unskilled general workers.

3. Foreign Workers in Rumania

648 In addition to the German administrators and 463 directors, who are in certain of the key positions in Rumanian industry, there is also evidence of skilled German technicians in Rumanian armament factories. In 1942 there was a nucleus of the German Todt organisation, and Italian builders in the country.

727 About 40,000 ~~Russian prisoners~~ of war are employed, chiefly in agriculture, though also in mining and navvying work.

C. GENERAL LABOUR DEVELOPMENTS

464 In 1937 the average unemployment figure was 722 12,000. The dislocation of trade and industry on the outbreak of war temporarily caused a general increase of unemployment, which was rapidly absorbed by the military call-up and increased activity in the armaments industry. In March

* The German minority was already liable for military service, either in the Rumanian or German army and in December, 1942, it was announced that there were 30,000 *Volksdeutsche* in the Rumanian Army.

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464 722 1942 there were 2,000 unemployed, while in December 1942, it was announced that the Office of Unemployment Statistics had been abolished, as there were no unemployed. Though Rumania's military mobilisation and losses have been extensive, her labour reserves are theoretically still considerable. On the other hand, there is no doubt that both industry and agriculture are suffering a noticeable labour shortage. This is attributable to the low level of mechanisation, internal economic organisation and to the cumbersome administration, so that comparison with western countries is impossible.

1. Agriculture.

464 241 The proportion of the working population engaged in agriculture is extremely high, so that military recruitment has been principally from this source. The structure of Rumanian agriculture, which is mainly peasant farming with a low output per head, has meant that the withdrawal of some 550,000 men has been more serious than it would have been in a country where more up-to-date methods are used, and the remaining labour supply is more mobile. The normal sources of supplementary wartime labour have been drawn on—*i.e.*, the temporary demobilisation of soldiers, employment of children during the summer holidays, and presumably an increased employment of women, although there is no evidence of women having been forcibly transferred to agriculture.

[727] The most valuable supplementary labour, however, has been the employment of Russian prisoners of war, and the demand for their services has exceeded the supply. The number employed in March 1942 was 40,000. These measures to improve the agricultural labour position do not as yet appear to have had much effect.

2. Industry

162 438 178 According to the latest official census figures (relating to the year 1930) 620,000 persons were employed in industry. The following table shows in column 1 the total number employed in the main branches, and in columns 2 and 3 the numbers working in factories employing ten or more people. A comparison between columns 2 and 3 gives an indication of the growing industrialisation of the country.

	1	2	3
	1930	1930	1937
Food	122,000	25,200	34,700
Textiles and Clothing	155,000	34,800	70,500
Metallurgy	101,000	32,000	49,500
Timber..	94,000	31,000	44,000
Mining	53,000	n.a.	n.a.

Allowing for the increased industrialisation during the years 1930–39, and for the general increase in the total population to some 20,000,000, it is estimated that by 1939 the number of industrial workers in Greater Rumania would have risen to some 750,000.

With the loss of part of the provinces of Transylvania, Crişana and Maramureş, Rumania suffered a fairly considerable loss in industrial workers, so that added to the expulsion of Jews, repatriation of Germans, etc., and military mobilisation, it is estimated that at the end of [464] 1942 the numbers engaged in industry would not exceed 550,000.

As in the case of agriculture, the structure of Rumanian industry tends to prevent a thorough rationalisation and concentration of the available industrial labour.

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CHAPTER XI

463 438 industrial labour. One-third of all workers engaged in industry are independent artisans, on whom the community is dependent for its services, but who do not play any important part in war production. In certain of the larger armament works German controllers have effected a considerable degree of rationalisation.

316 727 **3. Mining**

There is a shortage of miners; Russian prisoners of war have been employed in mining during 1942. Many miners were reported to have been included in the territory transferred to Hungary.

4. Armament Works

719 464 There is a general shortage of labour in metal and engineering factories, particularly of skilled labour. A 12-hour day was legalised at the beginning of 1942, but it is doubtful if in fact a 12-hour day is ever worked.

5. Timber

313 464 There is a shortage of labour, both for lumbering and for timber manufacture.

6. Textiles and Clothing

464 288 294 The total number of workers in these industries has probably fallen considerably, due to reduction of available raw materials. The delivery of supplies to individual mills seems to be somewhat erratic, and there is evidence of considerable part-time work, for instance in a survey of some 43 factories in December, 1942, 11 were working full time, 21 on a reduced scale, and 11 at a very reduced scale.

7. Building

499 712 464 The extent of fortification building and general road and rail construction in Rumania is unknown, but in the second half of 1942 there was evidence of a scarcity of general labour for such projects, and of Russian prisoners of war working on rail construction.

438 464 [759] In the other branches of occupation, transport services, etc., there is no evidence of labour shortage, apart from doctors, many of whom have been mobilised for the army.

D. CONTROL OF LABOUR

1. The Youth Labour Service

466 883 A youth labour service founded on the German model was established in March 1941. The leaders were trained in Germany, but it was only in April 1942 that the labour camps began to function. Youths are called up in their 19th–20th year, and the period of service lasts 7 months.

(*See* Part II, Chapter V.B. for further details.)

2. Civil Mobilisation

466 A general civil mobilisation decree was passed in May 1941 by which (1) employment cards were introduced; (2) men and women aged 20-57 were liable to compulsory employment if not employed.

Two subsequent decrees were published in March and May 1943, one for the reorganisation of agriculture, forestry and fishing, and the second for the reorganisation of industry. Each of these decrees gave full powers to the appropriate authorities for the mobilisation and transfer of labour.

In addition to the general labour decrees which have so far had little influence on the labour situation, there have been regional decrees applying to individual localities, e.g. in Bessarabia, in February 1942, all the inhabitants aged 21-70 were called upon for compulsory agricultural labour unless already employed.

9: Pool S-4 (no date) 1954 E1 Europe
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726 *648 to the German military campaigns against the southern regions of the Soviet Union. Numbering approximately thirty divisions, the Romanians first achieved the reconquest of territory which Russia had recently severed from Romania. The Romanian forces were then moved across the Dniester to support the Germans in the successful campaign against Odessa. The Romanian Army was in large measure responsible for the successful siege of Sebastopol and the capture of the Crimea. In the autumn and winter of 1942 an estimated Romanian force of fifteen divisions fought alongside the German troops in the offensive against Stalingrad. Like the Germans, the Romanians suffered extremely heavy losses at Stalingrad, and their military strength on the Eastern Front was never again brought up to the level existing prior to that campaign.

[727] By August 1944 Romania had lost 110,000 men killed and 180,000 captured, though she still had twenty divisions active on the front and nine divisions stationed in the interior of Romania. By that time it had become clear that Germany was not going to win the war and that Romania had chosen the wrong side. The pro-Nazi government of Marshal Ion Antonescu was overthrown on August 23, 1944, by a coup d'état engineered by King Michael. Romania immediately changed sides in the war. The former enemy, Russia, became a military ally and the Axis associates of three years past became enemies. The Romanians faced the immediate task of clearing the country of the more than half million German troops remaining there. This was accomplished relatively quickly. The Red Army was in Bucharest by the last day of August. Then in co-operation with Soviet forces the Romanians participated in the campaigns against the German and Hungarian Armies in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

704 *648 Along with the regular Romanian troops used in these actions there were two divisions of Romanians which had been organized by the Soviets primarily out of prisoners of war and which for some time had already been fighting on the Soviet side. The members of these divisions gave their oath of allegiance to the "new order" not to the Romanian king.[26]

These two divisions were culled from among a much larger number of Romanian PW's. Besides the 180,000 PW's in August 1944, another 280,000 Romanians were seized and sent to Russia thereafter even though Romania was presumably Russia's ally. Of these hundreds of thousands the large majority never returned. A substantial portion of those who did return were the members of the divisions formed in the PW camps. These units were named the Tudor Vladimirescu and Horia-Closca-Crisan Divisions. The former was under the command of Nicolae Cambrea, a lieutenant colonel who had been captured at Stalingrad and who had been won over by the efforts of Ana Pauker and other Romanian Communists who worked in the prison camps. After the fighting on the Central Euro-

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
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000 The typical articles by Communist leaders provide statistical material appropriate to the various circumstances, but whether they are signed by Signor Togliatti, M. Duclos, President Bierut, Herr Ulbricht or Mme. Ana Pauker they employ the standard vocabulary and are of standard cut. What might be called the ceremonial articles—marking anniversaries, hailing Stalin on his divine birthday, claiming this or that achievement of science or culture for Russia—are uniformly couched in a language of such vulgarity, turgidity, repetitiousness and monotony that they almost surely must emanate from a single brain. Possibly, of course, they merely reveal a uniform barrenness of thought and poverty of expression in Communist literary circles everywhere. If not, the central brain in Bucharest seems to be exhausted after executing so many changes of direction, doubling back so often on past tracks, discovering so many old enemies to be friends and firing the old epithets against so many old friends suddenly discovered to be enemies.

As I read through copies of *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!* for chance statements of interest or indications of shifts of emphasis in the Party line I find myself wondering what would be thought of them by some master polemicist like Bukharin, Radek or another of the old professionals with a subtle mind, a knowledge of history and a feeling for human psychology. What would they have thought of this wearying succession of hammering adjectives as a method of conveying the power and sincerity of a great revolutionary purpose to the far parts of the earth? Certainly it is a convenience for us who fight that purpose that every great pen of the Russian revolution has been stilled by time or Stalin's hangmen.

121 642 The independence which Rumania was supposed to have regained when the Red Army occupied the country in August 1944 was formally guaranteed by the Declaration on Liberated Europe adopted by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill at Yalta. The same instrument guaranteed the Rumanian people their domestic liberties, including the right to choose their own government. But hardly were the "Big Three" back in their capitals from the Crimea before that independence and those freedoms were clearly jeopardized by the appearance of a Communist-dominated minority government in Bucharest. The manner in which this was accomplished

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was as significant as the result. The Soviet Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Andrei Vyshinsky, simply flew down to Bucharest from Moscow on February 27, 1945, and gave King Michael the necessary orders. By Vyshinsky's direction the King ignored the representatives of the two largest political organizations in the country, the National Peasant Party headed by Iuliu Maniu and the National Liberal Party headed by Dinu Bratianu, and entrusted power to the man of Vyshinsky's choice, Petru Groza. The United States and Great Britain protested. Informed of the painful impression which his interference in Rumanian domestic politics had created in Western capitals, Vyshinsky commented only: "Let the sparrows twitter."

Public opinion in the West was not well informed about this development, or indeed about current developments in any of the areas which came under the occupation of the Red Army. Few Western newspapermen were on the spot in Rumania or Bulgaria, and those who were had limited means of communication. So far as American public opinion was concerned, the State Department did not consider it wise, on the eve of the San Francisco Conference, to release the reports of highhanded Soviet actions which it was receiving from those countries. The hope was that when Soviet Russia had assumed her official place in world councils she would become responsive to world opinion and begin behaving like a responsible member of international society. It was considered inadvisable to exacerbate Stalin's feelings by too violent complaints of the farce being made of his Yalta promises at the very moment he was sending Molotov, Gromyko and Sobolev to a great international conference to assume world responsibilities in an organization based on the ideals of the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow Declaration of 1943. The State Department complained about violations of the Yalta Agreement in its notes to the Soviet Government; but officials refrained from stressing their anxiety and anger in comments to the press.

Western protests mounted in urgency as time passed and the Soviet halter, far from being released, was drawn closer around the necks of states occupied by the Red Army. In Rumania, Maniu and Bratianu had refused to submit to the minority control of the Communists and their stool-pigeons. At the time, Maniu in particular was criticized in liberal circles abroad for a lack of "realism"

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in failing to recognize that new "progressive" forces were at work and in refusing to coöperate with them. In Hungary, Ferenc Nagy's Smallholders Party coöperated with the Communists in a coalition government, and Petkov coöperated in the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria. These were applauded as signs of superior liberalism and farsightedness. In neither case, as we have seen, was the end result satisfactory. It was not different in Rumania. The United States and British Governments made efforts to hold the governments concerned and their Soviet patrons to the terms of the Yalta Agreement. They succeeded only in revealing a distressing lack of power behind the written and verbal messages which their diplomats delivered at the respective foreign offices. To this extent it can be said that they actually damaged the native national forces which they aimed to help.

The Western Powers protested, as mentioned, against Vyshinsky's interference in Rumanian affairs and quite properly refused to recognize the Groza Government. Encouraged by this, King Michael in August 1945 appealed to the three signatories of the Yalta Agreement to help him create a "recognized democratic government." The Agreement provided that if differences arose about how democratic and representative régimes were to be created the three signatories should consult. The American and British Governments demanded that a consultation now take place about Rumania. Moscow replied that no differences existed except with regard to Rumanian domestic affairs and that therefore a consultation would be not only superfluous but highly improper. That was that. Soviet troops were in occupation of Rumania, and the Western Powers did not propose to go to war to replace Mr. Groza with Mr. Maniu. Other protests over other infringements of the Yalta undertaking were similarly rebuffed. It was right in one view to make them "for the record." The immediate result, however, was that the Western democracies lost face and non-Communist elements were weakened.

Simultaneously negotiations had been begun looking to the conclusion of peace treaties with Italy and the former Axis satellites. The peace conference opened in Paris on July 29, 1946. One staff member of the American delegation has said that the draft treaties there presented compared unfavorably with even the maligned